[P. 381, B]

825
771

the Washo, it seems clear that the animal is held in special awe and esteem by modern Indians.

FISHING
(252a-296)

226
789

Fishing appears to be far less subject to ritualization among the Washo than was hunting. Here again there may be a correspondence between the amount of ritual and the degree of certainty involved in obtaining the desired food. The Washo area is rated by Rostlund as being one of the higher fish-producing areas in North America. Certainly the many lakes, streams, and rivers were the source of great amounts of fish every year. Indians who could at most be described as only middle-aged, recount the tremendous numbers of fish which swept up the streams from Lake Tahoe during the spawning season. While the numbers may have varied from year to year, the large number of fish plus the intensive fishing methods employed by the Washo almost guarantee a large catch.

[787] [535] [782]

However, d'Azevedo reports that Northern Washo describe some degree of ritualism connected with fishing (d'Azevedo personal communication). Dreamers are said to have predicted the day of the spawning run. Dances were held and prayers said, suggesting a rather attenuated first-fish ceremony for some of the Washo (2618). Other Washo report "big times," which included dancing and prayer, during the spring gathering on the lake. However, in the actual catching of fish there was much less ritual.

[825] [439] [262]

Some fishermen carried a fishing medicine composed of dried larvae of the Ephydra hians (Say), called kutsavi by the Paiute (Heizer 1950) and matsi bahaka by the Washo. These larvae were obtained from the Mono Lake Paiute in trade or as gifts. They were considered good food and are still eaten by some Washo. However, in addition they were credited with having great powers to lure fish and were rubbed on harpoons, hooks, and lines. Perhaps this material was considered a fish medicine because these larvae are said to be generated from the scales of a giant fish. This leviathan is reported to have traveled through all the lakes in the Sierran area looking for a lake large enough in [773] which to live. At Mono Lake it scraped some scales into the water before it left to find a permanent home in Lake Tahoe (Steward 1936). Whether the Washo share this story with the Owens Valley Paiute, I do not know, but Mono Lake, because of its saline water and its lack of any fish life, is thought of with some fear and awe. Today I get the impression that some Washo still keep a bit of this material with their fishing gear, although they are apt to rationalize it as a lure rather than real medicine. It should be remembered that hook-and-line or spear fishing accounted for a much smaller percentage of the total annual take than did trapping, damming, netting, or other communal methods which entailed no ritual.

784
224
227
841
● [562]
[783]

MISCELLANEOUS CONCEPTS ABOUT HUNTING AND FISHING

A number of ritual activities cluster around hunting and fishing. Perhaps the most important is the requirement that women, particularly menstruating women, avoid the hunting and fishing equipment. If a woman touched such gear the owner would bathe it and pray

841 [P 382, A]
224

[227] "I'm giving you a bath to wash away the bad luck." (2334-2378).

[784] A further restriction placed on menstruating women
[262] was that they must not eat meat during their periods. To do so meant bad hunting for the man who killed the game.

262 The meat from the neck of a deer and the intes-
224 tinal organs were forbidden to vigorous young people. If a man ate neck meat his aim would be bad (340-348). Neck meat was reserved for children and the old. In actuality it would seem that only the children and the almost decrepit ate neck meat. One of my informants who is seventy-five, thus certainly qualifying for old age, has never tasted either neck meat or internal organs. To do so apparently would be an admission of loss of vigour which no Washo oldster wishes to make. Menstruating women today will eat meat purchased from a butcher but refrain from eating venison or other game taken by someone they know, for fear of spoiling his luck. Menstrual taboos also hold today in regard to touching firearms or fishing poles, al-
[562] though at least some Washo women own fishing poles,
[226] and in the early part of this century a woman who lives at Carson City was reputed to be a great hunter. In times past, certain women are reported to have made excellent bows but not to have used them.

224 Stewart reports dances to bring deer which some of
535 my informants remembered. However, even in his time
[789] the dances were said to be "mainly for pleasure," which
[178] suggests the sacred nature of such dances has gradual-
ly faded out of the consciousness of most modern Washo,
[796] particularly as deer hunting has become entirely an individual enterprise and is no longer central to Washo subsistance.

GATHERING

222 As stated earlier, there appears to have been much
527 less ritual involved in gathering activities, perhaps be-
[789] cause there was much less chance of failure than in
[535] hunting. However, Stewart reports that sometimes dances were held to make seeds grow (2618-2621). Such gatherings appear to be remembered, if at all, by living Washo only as social occasions.

The fall pine-nut dance was clearly part of the ritu-
[262] al of the pine-nut harvest (2617, 2622). The pine nut
[178] was central to Washo winter survival, and its production was a matter of extreme concern. Even today the pine-nut harvest becomes a paramount interest among all the Washo during the last part of the summer. Speculations as to its size, wishes for rain, and survey trips into the pine-nut hills become common, and according to one informant: "If we have a couple of bad years somebody will say, 'We ought to have a
222 pine-nut dance,' and then we'll have one."
527 The following account of the pine-nut dances of the
[115] past was given to me by a man, now almost blind, of between seventy-five and eighty. His father claimed to be chief of the Washo through an affinal relationship to the famous Captain Jim, and my informant maintains the claim, stoutly denied by all other Washo except his relatives and admitted by them only when they are forced to depend on his hospitality. The account is one of a well-regulated four-day ceremony of the first fruit. However, it will become apparent as other information is presented that it is a highly idealized version. It is valuable, however, because it includes a number of sacred elements of obvious importance.

178
562 The apparent relationship between specialists and the disappearance of Washo ceremonies focuses attention upon men, for men were usually the specialists in Washo society. Washo specialists were few, but almost all were men. The leaders of communal deer, rabbit and antelope hunts were men, as [756] were the leaders of war parties. The leader of the pinenut dance was a man. Shamans could be either men or women, but male shamans were probably more common. The two shamans practicing in the early 1950's were both men, and most of the shamans of former days mentioned by informants were men.

Modern conditions have affected the male role more than the female. Cooking and the care of babies, for example, retain their importance while hunting, fishing, and warfare have disappeared or have been considerably [177] reduced in importance. Men have of necessity taken to wage work. As a result the overwhelming power and authority of the larger society impinge more on men than on women and seem to have had the effect of undermining male [554] self-confidence. All specialist roles in Washo society were achieved rather than ascribed and a person attained office through a combination of skill and personality traits. But males may have become reluctant to try to achieve such statuses, knowing the prevailing attitudes of the larger society toward Washo culture. (Compare with Freed, 1960, 370, and Freed and Freed, 1963.)

Women seem better adjusted to modern conditions than men. They are less exposed to the larger society, and much of their interaction is with relatives where they feel sure of themselves. Two of the three surviving Washo ceremonies are life cycle ceremonies, which a woman arranges. No special personality attributes are required and the necessary arrangements involve mainly relatives.

Conclusion

128
105 This paper has described the ceremonies of the Washo and has suggested a reason why some appear on the point of disappearing while others seem capable of surviving, at least for the immediate future. One factor that may be important is the vulnerability of the aboriginal specialist under modern conditions. Therefore, ceremonies dependent upon specialists can disappear suddenly when specialists are no longer available. The surviving ceremonies, all life cycle ceremonies, require no specialists. Most Washo specialists were men, and the vulnerability of the specialists is in accord with the more disruptive effects of the larger society upon men than upon women.

cure his wife. When she died, he broke the taboo against eating salt and died. The fourth successful case did involve an attempt at social control. A father and daughter did not get along because the daughter was supporting the father. The daughter complained and the father threatened suicide. He repeated the threat a day later and the daughter told him to do whatever he wanted. The father took his gun and shot himself below the chin. This method of suicide is not typical and was clearly inappropriate, because it gave the daughter no chance to change her behavior.

Hank Pete says that he has heard many threats of suicide and that people do this, "to scare money from old parents." Pete also says that men attempt suicide more often than women, who just leave home when interpersonal difficulties arise. The destruction of the self is an ultimate threat, and the fact that men are more likely to invoke it than women indicates a lack of male authority in Washo culture. This same characteristic of the male role was revealed in an analysis of role behavior by kinsmen among the modern Washo. "... Men tend to see their relationships regarding who dominates them as clearly structured, but are much less clear as to whom they dominate; women see their relationship with subordinate relatives to be structured almost as clearly as their relationships with dominant ones. This may be an indication that Washo males tend to lack self-confidence...." (Freed, 1960, 370). We believe that the lack of male self-confidence is a modern phenomenon and cannot be projected into the past. The reason probably is that males have a more difficult time adjusting to modern conditions than women. This has been noted in other American Indian hunting-gathering tribes (Hallowell, 1942, 48; Caudill, 1949, 425). In the case of the Washo, the main difficulties of the men may be due to seasonal unemployment and lack of economic opportunities. Of the five cases of violence against the self involving attempts at social control, three were by men; of these three, two were motivated by complaints by women that a male relative was making no economic contribution.

We suspect that among the modern Washo the use of alcoholic beverages has partially replaced the threat of suicide in interpersonal relations. Bertha Holbrook commented, "Nobody commits suicide today -- instead they begin drinking." Alcohol probably has many functions in modern Washo culture; its role as a means to control the behavior of relatives is possibly a minor one. If the control of relatives is one of the functions of alcohol, its effectiveness is based on different culture patterns than is the effectiveness of suicide. Suicide controls through the fear of ghosts; drinking may control through fear of the direct aggression of the drunken person, especially because the Washo become hostile and aggressive when they are drinking. It is possible that a person may die from overindulgence in alcohol or may be killed in a drunken brawl and thus become a ghost, but this is infrequent and therefore a minor consideration.

881
[202] [574] On the evening of the third day of fasting the girl ran up the hill with a firebrand and lit the four piles of firewood. Some say that her brother, sister, or other relative did it if the girl was too weak. The fires were a symbol to all who saw them that a girl's dance was to be held and everyone was invited. If the girl became ill, if there was a death in the girl's family, or if the family was too poor for a feast, there would be no fires and no dance. But the girl would still fast and go through the essential washing ceremony.

881
535 [778] By nightfall of the third day a fire was built near a level dancing area. The ceremony started with the chanting and swaying of about six to 12 women in a tight group of three or four rows. These women stood about 10 ft. from the fire and faced the fire eastward. Between these women and the fire were placed the girl's staff and another similar but unpainted staff. The ends of these staffs were buried partly in the ground about 6 ft. apart. The girl and her assistant stood between the staffs and faced the group of women, each with her outer hand on a staff and with their inner arms interlocked.

881
533 535 The women's chants were both learned and improvised. The texts had no meaning. The chanting was led by one woman while the others picked up the syllables and melodic line. At a ceremony observed on July 19, 1961, the melodic line varied, but the rhythm stayed about the same with a meter of about 90 beats a minute. The swaying of the women was at half of the meter of the singing. These are four of the several chants used: ʔówíyáʻkiʔi, ʔímlaʻhóʻʔiya, nélonáne, and héyaya.

881
535 The girl (age 13) and her assistant (an old woman and, later, a woman of 25) danced about 20 "sets" with short pauses between. A "set" consisted of six or seven short jumps to the left and six or seven jumps back to the right repeated from three to five times. The women started a new chant with each set. A set took about 30 seconds and the rest interval was about 15 seconds. The girls danced about 14 minutes. The dance by the girls in front of the swaying and chanting women is called the melehéheʔ -- "to jump up and down in one place repeatedly" (Jacobsen, personal communication). It is believed to make the menstrual blood flow. If the menstruator is too sick or too weak to dance, her role in the dance may be taken over by another woman.

[178] [562] As soon as the woman's dance ended, the general dance for everyone (le?wé?weʔ, "to crawl enclosing repeatedly") began on a large dance ground to one side of the fire. This was started by some older people who interlocked fingers and formed a circle while facing toward the center of the circle. The men and women danced separately, each forming an arc of the same circle. Today the separation of the sexes is only partially in effect and couples often dance side by side.

as a food source. It is possible that the Washo did not rely as much on the Artemisian sources and therefore were not as seriously discomforted by cattle grazing as were the Paiutes. It is during this early period of white intrusion that we see Paiutes also becoming hangers-on around white settlements and becoming dependents of individual white ranchers (Steward, 1938, 8).

The above-described alteration of the environment is significant in terms of differential response because it operated fairly uniformly on all the Washo, while Paiutes began to experience inequalities of opportunity in various bands. This, we might postulate, could have led to new band alignments among the Paiutes as families left bands in depleted areas to join bands in more provident areas. Secondly it might lead to interband friction if entire bands attempted to operate as entities in areas where others had habitually gathered and hunted.

This period marks the first distinct differences in response to white occupation between the two groups.

The Washo apparently continued in the same patterns that they had earlier. Numbers of Washo gradually drifted into the Indian towns on the outskirts of white settlements. Others, in bands, began to reside more or less permanently on ranches, becoming dependents of individual white ranchers. In return for odd jobs and, perhaps, as a bribe to prevent theft, the Indians received handouts. Their hunting activities were appreciated by whites because they helped reduce the wild animal competition with domestic animals for grazing. An additional factor may also have been that a band of Indians made women available to cowboys and ranch hands, an important element in a woman-short frontier area.

Property lines, railroads and lumber flumes interrupted the migration trails of the Washo, upsetting the traditional band-land relationship. Although gathering and hunting continued, it appears to have lost its quality of organizing Washo life.

In the bands that squatted on the property of ranchers, women appear to have become the foci of social organization. This is probably because they were able to earn money as housekeepers, kitchen help and casual prostitutes while remaining with the family unit, but men were forced to leave the family to earn money in seasonal farm labor, lumbering, woodchopping, construction, hunting and fishing.

The 1850's mark the beginning of Paiute hostility toward the white man. Bands of mounted Paiute under the leadership of war chiefs began raiding herds, attacking outlying ranches and harassing wagon trains.

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20

contained in the appendices (pp. 103–121). There are, nevertheless, some unique features about the western Great Basin manifestation which merit consideration.

Perhaps the most unusual feature is the position accorded to women: they lead the singing while holding the staff and rattle, beat the drum, and sometimes even act as chief drummer. In contrast to this, La Barre (p. 60) reports that most tribes formerly forbade women to attend meetings at all and that in more recent times "only two cases are known of women who fully participated in meetings," one among the Cheyenne, the other at Taos. If they tie feathers on their wrists, even menstruating women are allowed in meetings by the Washo and the Paiute, a practice never permitted in the Plains. Could it be that women are allowed full participation because in the Great Basin women were shamans? Possibly; but more likely it resulted from Ben's need for an experienced helper in the early period of peyote's spread and, to a lesser extent, from his observance of Cheyenne ritual. Admitting the practice was unusual, Ben simply said, "It's all right.... It makes them feel better, more equal."

La Barre (pp. 60, 69) reports that women never use eagle-feather fans, but this privilege, along with drumming and singing, is accorded to Washo-Paiute women.[84] The use of all individual fans, however, is prohibited until midnight. The participation of women naturally brought infants of both sexes to the Nevada peyote meetings. All these are given "tea," that is, diluted infusions of peyote; once two eight-year-old boys sat in the front row, took their turns with rattle and drum, and ate dried peyote buttons.

The Washo-Paiute peyote ceremony lacks the "Morning Water Call" ritual found elsewhere. Sam Dick explains that it is omitted to make the procedure easier; Ben, admitting the "Morning Water Call" is customary, insists the "oldest way" did not have it. I suspect the large number of inexperienced people tends to make the meeting too long, and Ben shortens it where it will be least noticeable.

The Ute and the Plains tribes use four fixed songs: Opening, Midnight Water Call, Morning Water Call, and Quitting; and usually they sing only peyote songs during the meeting. In Washo-Paiute meetings any song may be given in any part of the ritual; there are no fixed songs. Ben allows new converts to sing any songs they know—handgame, dance, gambling, and so on, making another departure from conventional peyotism. However, peyote songs are required as soon as possible; and for a month after his first Dresslerville meeting, Ben conducted nightly singing practice to teach regular peyote songs. Altering of the cult song pattern did not allow, as one might expect, aboriginal Washo or Northern Paiute words or the Great Basin musical style to be introduced; for in spite of the fact that some new songs were "received from peyote" by Nevada converts, form and syllables of all Washo-Paiute peyote songs sound very similar to those of the Ute, Plains, and quite different from Washo-Paiute handgame, dance, and doctoring songs.[85]

Another unusual feature of this peyote ritual is the absence of whistle blowing. Other tribes have an eagle-humerus whistle placed near the altar during the ritual to be blown at the Midnight and Morning Water Calls and before the midnight prayers to the cardinal directions. Ben asserts he omits whistling from the ritual because he cannot get any sound out of the bone, claiming he gave his whistle to Sam. Sam does not use it, explaining, "We are just learning and do the best we can." This omission is especially noteworthy since a characteristic of the indigenous culture is the use of an eagle-bone whistle by shamans in their curing.

[84] Sometimes Uintah and Southern Ute women also owned eagle feathers or were lent them to use.

[85] Curtis, 1930, wrote down music and words for some Oklahoma peyote songs which appear to me similar to those of the Washo. I recorded Washo and Paiute aboriginal songs and peyote songs, which Professor Herzog is analyzing.